The

COMMONWEAL

A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs

FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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Week by Week

FIVE years of virtually unopposed majority rule have relegated the Republicans, "the 17,000,000" of 1936, to a more or less subsidiary position on the national stage. We have no official opposition here as in Great Britain, and the Democratic margin in Congress is still so pronounced that only on a few historic occasions have the Republicans as such been able to assert themselves effectively. But under our form of government the rôle of a genuine opposition party functioning to see that the rights of political minorities are at least considered, to act as a threat and a check to the political group temporarily representing the national majority, is an essential one. The significance of the recent primaries, wrapped up as they were in personalities, local issues and free entertainment, may be overestimated, but at least they disclosed no marked trend away from New Deal continuance.

Looking toward 1940

IN VIEW of this political situation the present strategy of the G.O.P. appears quite sound in that it involves months of study of the possible issues in the 1940 campaign. Preliminary findings were discussed behind closed doors at Northwestern University at a conference which focused attention on agriculture, civil service, conservation, foreign affairs, labor, national finances, rackets, relief and Social Security. Press releases cited the familiar charge that the country was rapidly heading toward "a breakdown of its economic system and the disintegration of responsible and effective government." In the light of its past record and recent campaigns, the party's determination to "build on representative democracy and private enterprise," was not very startling. But the *Christian Science Monitor*, which claims to have first-hand impressions of the secret conclaves at Northwestern, is heartened by the scattered evidences that the G.O.P. will lay claim to the magic title of liberal. The peak of the program committee's audacity to date appears to be the inclusion of a prominent A.F.L. speaker at a public session. Nevertheless Glenn Frank's cohorts still have the opportunity to do the country a great service by drawing up an actually constructive opposition program and selling it to the National Republican Convention.

Economic Problem No. 1

THE FIRST implementation of President Roosevelt's frontal attack on the economic condition of the South has taken the form of an announcement by Harry Hopkins of a permanent program for between-season employment of needy Southern farmers. It is proposed to add 200,000 persons to the WPA rolls until such time as these depressed workers can find employment picking the cotton crop; by this means their subnormal cash income will be so increased as to permit them a decent diet and adequate clothing. Of course Mr. Hopkins's proposal was at once greeted by political opponents as a purely political move to ensure the continuance in office of Southern New Deal politicians; however strong a political motive may exist in the background, the fact remains that the South is one of our greatest economic problems and that much of the blame for this rests with the spottiness of agricultural employment because of the almost universal prevalence of one-crop farming. Once more it is a case of acknowledging some value in a New Deal measure as a palliative; but any genuine emergence from its economic dog days continues to depend upon far more fundamental changes in Southern economy. In chemurgy, in reforming the tenant system and one-crop methods, in the removal of tariff and railroad discrimination, lie proper hopes for the future. On all these fronts must the economic

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malaise of the South be attacked if a permanent victory is to be achieved.

THE SOVEREIGN state of New Jersey has persistently refused to face its own relief problem squarely. On two important occasions it has been lifted out of the morass of evaded responsibility by the windfall of millions from estate taxes, notably from the Duke tobacco fortune and the Dorrance soup millions. When no more obliging individuals of this type appeared, or, more accurately, disappeared, various dodges were resorted to. Funds ostensibly garnered from gasoline taxes for the purpose of building state highways were diverted for relief. Now the Trenton legislators are refusing to take the responsibility for sponsoring or supporting additional state taxes since elections are not far off. The governor, who himself estimates relief needs at $12,000,000 more, is planning to call a special legislative session but refuses to make any recommendations. In Boston on the contrary the mayor and council are considering long-range plans which deal with the problem of relief as permanent and requiring regular appropriations. They also expect to cut per-capita relief costs. A government which does nothing else must provide the necessities of life for human beings unable to procure them. It should face this duty squarely. And candidates from New Jersey should have better qualifications than the ability to hide the manner in which relief funds are extracted from their constituent's pockets.

A Plea for Realism

NOT WISHING to appear misanthropic, we nevertheless must confess that much of the celebration for light-hearted and light-headed Douglas Corrigan seems to us immoderate and ill-advised. His foolhardy flight had practically no scientific significance, and if it were undertaken, as certain of the engaging gentleman's statements would indicate, to secure his rapid advancement to prominence in aviation, the means would appear ill-adapted to the end. For such prominence ought to be grounded in technical knowledge, skill or inventive genius, and none of these are especially evidenced by Corrigan's achievement. The flight and its circumstances amount to an archaic imitation of Lindbergh's feat, and it was carried out in contempt of current aeronautic mechanism, procedures and laws. Little wonder that few aviation concerns have been reported as anxious to add the smiling hero to their staffs. Moreover, we hate to think of the bad example given unstable youths who may be led—with fatal results—to emulate the *tour de force* way to success, instead of the usual method of intelligence, prudence and industry.

Corrigan

MOST encouraging is the agreement recently signed by a large number of retail merchants in New York's Harlem whereby Negroes are henceforth guaranteed at least one-third of all white-collar jobs. To be sure this innovation, no matter how belated, must have a modest beginning, but there is little reason to maintain the percentage at one-third when Negro clients furnish up to 80 percent of the trade in the very largest stores. The prejudice of Negro racial inferiority has been consistently exploded in the presence of equal opportunity. Indeed, Negro accomplishments frequently indicate considerable superiority because only too often have they been achieved in the teeth of unreasoning opposition. The case in point certainly illustrates an unusual amount of forbearance and charity. Only a third of the positions are asked for and these not immediately, so as to avoid visiting hardship upon the present white incumbents. Only as these quit, are transferred, or discharged for cause, will they be replaced by Negro employees. There are many other admirable features of the agreement, such as a permanent arbitration board having five white and five colored members. Daily contact should soon convince the open-minded white workers that darkness of skin is a most arbitrary standard with which to judge brethren in Christ.

Interracial Justice

IN A RECENT Paris dispatch Walter Lippmann argues that England and France are deliberately producing a stalemate in Spain for the reasons that both are convinced that the Loyalists cannot reconquer Spain and could not govern it well if they did; and that General Franco, if victorious, could not govern with his own force, but would have to depend upon Germans and Italians, which would constitute a new hostile frontier for France and a threat to British and French maritime communications. Thus they manipulate their useful fiction, the Non-Intervention Committee, this way and that to supply arms and materials where most needed to prevent a decisive victory by either side. If this is true, and it appears not unlikely, then the "holy war" dragging on in Spain assumes the sinister aspect of a device for the attainment of the selfish ends of various major powers, and Christians have an additional motive for clamoring and organizing for peace in Spain. Regardless of whether or no the rightist insurrection *was* legitimate, or whether or no crowded city streets contain military objectives, and regardless of similar disputed questions, the desolating fact for all true lovers of Spain and humanity *is* that this unhappy country now lies in the agony of bloody self-destruction and seemingly with cynical by-

Peace for Spain

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standers abetting the deadly struggle for their own selfish purposes. Despite the searing martyrdom inflicted upon the Spanish Church, if we are to intervene in Spain, let it be not for the prolongation of this horrible war one moment further but for peace! An immediate truce followed by equable negotiations would seem to be a most worthy objective of earnest prayer and effort. We urge this not as a departure from our stand of "positive impartiality"—a phrase which Maritain, according to the current *Blackfriars,* has complimented us by adopting as his own—but as a necessary implication of it.

Organizing Aid to Refugees

THE BOLSHEVIK revolution in Russia brought with it the first great refugee problem of post-war years and indeed, as far as numbers were concerned, the largest refugee problem of modern history. The advent to power of Mussolini added its toll to the number of the politically dispossessed; the advent to power of Hitler, because of Nazi anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism, has so intensified the problem that some international action has become imperative. The threat of an even further increase of men and women without countries which is latent in Polish, Rumanian and Italian racism makes such action all the more necessary. This most perplexing and heart-rending problem continues acute, and no immediate solution seems to be in prospect. But at least the Evian meeting has considered many ramifications of the problem and set up an international committee to try to alleviate, in every possible way, the human suffering involved. If the present edgy situation in Europe can be kept in stable equilibrium, perhaps the committee can establish a technique for handling a situation of which the basic causes —injustice and lack of charity—must be eliminated for any permanent relief. If the Nazification of central Europe continues, then the problem of the politically homeless will become so great as perhaps even to defy alleviation. And yet the obligation of harboring the harborless in charity will continue for all of us.

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Discovery

SOME EARLY letters (c. 1909) of Mr. Shaw, which have got into the papers through having recently been sold at Sotheby's in London, are more important news about him than almost any latter day item. His vegetarianism no longer thrills. His once-incendiary ideas are like the orderly hearthstone flame, or the playful bonfire, alongside some of the current conflagrations (though the new generation, ungrateful and unregarding like all new generations, would have to admit if it took thought that the bonfire had its function as kindling). The quoted excerpts of his early correspondence really gives us something new in Shaw. The gloomy young man who wrote, of "Captain Brassbound's Conversion," "Sometimes I think the play is no good," is a person we have never been allowed to meet before. It is surprising how we take to him. Reading how he professes himself, in regard to "Major Barbara," "in a mood of sullen desperation," it makes us really happy to be able to assure him that the mood is groundless. And when there flashes before our incredulous eyes this sentence out of the long ago, "My bolt as a real playwright is shot," we take him to our hearts. No Compleat Conqueror this, no dweller on some leprechaun Olympus of his own. The man is a human being after all, subject to all the writhings and self-abasements that torment human sufficiency. Pity we did not know it sooner.

Götter-dämmerung

THOMAS MANN has borne witness for liberal democracy in circumstances which testify to an almost heroic optimism of outlook. But in a short paper, "Mankind, Take Care!", in the August *Atlantic,* he seems temporarily caught and submerged by all the opposing forces. He is writing of Europe; but it is plain that in stigmatizing the mass phenomena there which he feels constitute a deliberate abnegation of personality — "release from the ego, from the obligation to think, in short, from moral and reasonable obligations altogether" — he is dealing with something which he finds, in some proportion, everywhere. We must agree with him equally as democrats and as Catholics, we discern and oppose the contempt for reason, the reluctance for the discipline of truth, the denial of moral values, the emotionalism, which too much characterize our time. But we nevertheless enter a double exception to Mr. Mann's powerful paper. The point about Ibsen, Marx, Nietzsche, is not in the least that "mass man" has basely misunderstood the nobility of intention with which the first defended illusion, the second attacked idealism, the third inveighed against Christianity; the point is that they were, in these respects, wrong and destructive, and that they and their kind directly fathered the present confusion. "Mass man" is their victim; they are not his. Our second exception is more general, and more basic. As we have already implied, the picture is too one-sided. It is a picture of despair. Against it stands the truth that there are not two kinds of men: the "mass men" and the others. There are only human beings who, if permitted to do so, tend to act like human beings most of the time.

Proletarian Catholicism

By STANLEY B. JAMES

WHATEVER may be our reaction to the dictatorships of the proletariat as exemplified in Russia, there can be no doubt that a change is taking place in society comparable to that which occurred when power passed from the nobility to the middle class. The Great War registered the failure of the bourgeoisie to establish a stable civilization and the wisdom which presides over a history determined that the time had come to call in to the feast the poor and the maimed from the lanes and streets of the city. The sinister form taken by this social revolution must not blind us to the basic fact, but rather lead us to inquire whether it may not be induced to take some more legitimate form.

That inquiry is partially answered by a parallel and related revolution which is taking place within the Church. To speak of a revolution within the Church may sound disturbing, but, though it may effect a change of theological emphasis, this revolution is not theological; it is, like that which is occurring in the outside world, social. "The social basis of the Church," says Berdyaev, "is changing, and the new one must be formed principally of workers, with a minority of intellectuals; no more nobles, no more of the old commercial class. The society of the future will be a working society, and the Church will be able to live in accordance therewith as she did with the societies of the past, continuing to be the guardian of the eternal truths which she offers to the souls of mankind." Cardinal Pacelli has said much the same. Writing to Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris, he declared: "In the complexity of the modern world the working classes take on a growing importance, an importance which it would be stupid and unjust to underestimate. The extent to which the representatives of labor are penetrated with the principles of the Gospel will decide in large measure the extent to which the society of tomorrow will be Christian."

It is not only the extent to which Christianity will prevail that this change will determine, but also the manner. Each class has its own contribution to make in accordance with its special

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standpoint and experience. Proletarian Catholicism will have, within the framework of orthodoxy, a character of its own. The nature of the change which may be anticipated is too large a subject to be adequately treated here, but one general observation may be made.

The opposition which the Church has had to encounter during the past four hundred years has come from a bourgeois society characteristically prone to compromise. It does not repudiate Christianity, but offers its own middle-class version of it. Compared with the full-blooded, traditional faith, it is a mediocre and anemic thing, critical rather than creative, evasive as regards crucial questions, hesitating to dogmatize with regard to the supernatural element so robustly affirmed by previous generations and contenting itself with a piety that is decorous rather than passionate. The compromising character of the attack determined the nature of the reaction, which was correspondingly half-hearted. Protestant criticism has failed to evoke the full force of Catholicism. We have sadly to admit that in the countries where that criticism was most articulate, the Church, instead of displaying a bold initiative, has been on the defensive. In particular it has very largely abandoned to its opponents the field of cultural and social life and entrenched itself as a besieged garrison within the area covered by the performance of its customary rites. So long as it was permitted these, it has not greatly cared to invade the secular sphere or to attempt the Christianization of intellectual, commercial and industrial activities. It is this timidity we are likely to see disappear as a result of the social changes indicated.

The proletariat lives in the basement of civilization. Its experience has taught it to discard the polite veneer by means of which the bourgeois is in the habit of disguising ugly facts. It is not afraid of raw passion and crudely positive affirmation. It cannot be neutral, but must take sides with a definiteness that is alarming to the middle-class mentality. Its attack on the Faith therefore lacks nothing in dogmatism. If the workers think religion an artificial thing camouflaging capitalism, they say so in words and deeds the meaning of which is not in doubt. Their unbelief is militant. They are determined to re-create our civilization in accordance with their own philosophy. There is no question in their minds as to their right to establish a proletarian dictatorship which will govern the whole sphere of human activities down to the smallest detail.

If it is true, as Berdyaev says, that the social basis of the Church will in the future be formed principally of workers, then we may expect these Catholic workers to respond to the attack of their class with a similarly uncompromising vigor. It is that fact which best indicates the character of the future Catholicism. We have the authority of Pius XI himself for describing it in these terms: "Anybody," he has said, "should be proud of being a witness of and, to a certain extent, an actor in this sublime drama, in which evil and good have come to grips in a gigantic duel. At the present hour no one has the right to take refuge in mediocrity."

In this forecast we are not dependent on unverifiable surmises. Symptoms are already manifested which indicate the direction in which we are moving. Catholic Action, mobilizing the forces of the laity and especially of the workers as for an apostolate, has lifted the siege and released the supernatural forces of the Church for the transformation of society in all its aspects. Catholic philosophy, Catholic ideals of culture, Catholic social principles are demanding to be heard with an insistence that is new. Catholic Action means that the garrison which has sheltered itself within the sanctuary has become militant and that its militancy is directed against the neo-pagan and materialistic standards which have prevailed unchallenged in public and private life. The Catholicism of the future will be for the whole man, spiritual and physical. The piety which was the private cult of the individual unrelated to public life has had its day.

A new type of sanctity is making its appearance in the ranks of the workers. Its character has been indicated by the Marquis d'Aragon writing in *Blackfriars* concerning the members of the Young Christian Workers' movement. "I have met many of these young Catholics," he says, "and have been struck by their frank enthusiasm and their spirit of initiative; but the most touching thing about them is their love of Our Lord and the efforts they are making to have a better knowledge of Himself and of His Life. Christ is the model ever before their eyes, and still more is He in their souls by grace; and this Divine Presence gives a meaning to all their thoughts and actions. To give an example, here is the answer given by a Jocist to his chaplain when asked: 'How long are you without thinking of Christ during the day?' 'Sometimes five minutes,' was the answer."

As factory-hands, miners, mechanics these youths live amid the depressing surroundings of the industrial world and, undismayed by the seeming omnipotence of that régime, have determined to conquer it for Christ.

I have seen and known them and I am confident that, under an uncompromising attack, Catholicism is discovering in them resources which may well make the age that is dawning the most glorious in its history. "I am certain," declared His Holiness in the statement already quoted, "that this formidable upheaval will see the Church emerging more resplendent and better adapted to modern needs."

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Cooperation as a Technique

By BERTRAM B. FOWLER

THE SIXTEENTH annual conference of the rural and industrial cooperatives of Nova Scotia, being held at Antigonish, August 16-18, has attracted hundreds of delegates from all parts of Canada and the United States. Since the cooperative movement is becoming an increasingly important factor for the regeneration of the social order, it is worth looking beyond the movement itself to the fundamentals that have given it its impetus. Such a study is absolutely necessary as the need for some sort of cooperative action becomes pressing in the face of what seems like chronic economic paralysis, with industrial organizations admittedly powerless and the government able to do little more than keep the masses of the unemployed from actual starvation.

Cooperation has been presented to us as a mere method of shopkeeping. It has been embraced by groups who saw in it a tool to be used in the furthering of political ambitions. It has in other cases, when applied successfully, become something like a religion to its members. In such groups cooperation is seen as an end in itself rather than a means to an end. In some few, where the leadership has been great and wise enough, it is understood as something more than the mere façade seen by the great majority.

Fortunately we have in the movement launched in Nova Scotia by the St. Francis Xavier University an example of the right approach to cooperation. In that movement we see a dynamic and comprehensive outline of a course of action by which men and women are shown how to organize and run their economic affairs in accordance with those religious precepts by which they live and grow in cultural and spiritual stature.

In that Canadian province, more than 30,000 fishermen, farmers and miners, under the leadership and guidance of the men of St. Francis Xavier University, organized in hundreds of local study clubs, have done great and moving things. They have set up some 135 credit unions, thus laying the foundation of a true cooperative banking structure. They have broken the bonds of exploitation by organizing their own cooperative stores. They have built some fifty lobster factories, fish plants and sawmills. But these things are important only as they manifest the deep cultural and spiritual regeneration that is taking place in these men and women.

Let it be clearly understood that the St. Francis Xavier movement, as it has come to be known, is no mere economic experiment. In the minds of the leaders of the movement, particularly in the mind and heart of Father J. J. Tompkins, was the fixed conviction that the one thing necessary was a renaissance of the spirit among the impoverished people. Father Tompkins has asserted again and again that the action of the people must spring from a spiritual desire to do better and be better; otherwise any economic gains are relatively worthless.

To this end the leaders of the St. Francis Xavier movement began to preach a crusade; a crusade against poverty, ignorance and oppression by the people themselves. To lift the hearts and the minds of the people to consideration of higher and lovelier things, they saw that the people must be shown how to better their lot by an intelligent use of material right at hand, looking to their leaders for nothing more material than education and instruction.

Here you have the heart and soul of the whole magnificent movement, the signal and tremendous contribution to the understanding of cooperation by the men of St. Francis Xavier University. They gave the cooperative movement a dynamic strength that it has in few other countries simply because they approached the movement from a new angle and taught cooperative action, not as a mere movement, but as an application of Christianity to present problems.

Let it be clearly understood that I am not now talking about what most people call the cooperative movement. I am now speaking of the application of ethical principles to our economic affairs in order that real progress and prosperity shall appear as a proof of the efficacy and practicality of the principles themselves.

There has been altogether too much inveighing against the profit-motivated system of finance capitalism as such, just as there has been too much whole-hearted presentation of the cooperative movement as the ideal economic order. The real divergence between the two systems goes deeper than that; it is question of fundamental principles. In its operation the profit system has too often given its prizes to greed, brute force and animal cunning. It has failed in operation in exactly the same degree in which it has failed to guarantee economic justice, freedom and security to the great masses of the people. To my mind it has failed because of its failure to operate in accord with ethical principles.

On the other hand cooperation is not the ideal order in and of itself. It is magnificent in hope and promise only as it is outlined socially, cul-

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turally and ethically. The movement as it stands in many countries leaves much to be desired. But the real hope in the cooperative movement for this troubled world is that its leaders will conceive and direct it as an economic restatement of ethical principles.

Something of all this was in the minds of the leaders of St. Francis Xavier University as they shaped the economic program they were giving to their people. They saw that the basic evil was one of a concentration of wealth and ownership in the hands of the few, while poverty and misery degraded and enslaved the masses of the people. Therefore they accepted the cooperative technique of economic action as the only one that would fit into the wider problem of spiritual and cultural regeneration; as the one economic system that would show clearly and unmistakably the necessity of bringing Christianity into the business of making a living.

They were asking that the people turn from a system of profit-making that operated to keep men at each others' throats in the business world and financially ruined them while it brutalized them. They were asking the people to adopt a technique of economics that was based on the fact that men should live like brothers, help each other mutually instead of destroying each other.

It is rather interesting to note the change that has come about among the people of eastern Nova Scotia as a result. The upward trend in church attendance parallels exactly the upward trend in cooperative organization. Putting the rules of Christianity into their economic affairs, the people began to understand more clearly the spiritual message that was being poured out to them from the pulpits. They have learned what few have learned in this world today, namely, to unify the whole process of living, applying to the whole seven days of the week—to the business of obtaining bread and shelter, to the handling of their fish and farm products, to the making of homes and happiness—but one rule of life.

These people had been perplexed for long years because they had tried to live according to two diametrically opposed principles. One of these rules was given them by their spiritual leaders and was accepted by reason of their inherent desire to deal rightly and live righteously. The other was enforced upon them by a vicious system that ground them down with its exactions. They were bewildered and lost, as most of suffering humanity is today, because of their logical failure to comprehend a duality of aim and procedure.

The basic fact about cooperation that must be grasped today if we are to build a Christian system of economics is that we must overhaul and redesign our economic system so that it coincides with the ethical principles to which we have clung for so long and by which we live.

Much has been written and spoken about the cooperative movement that has come out of St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia. The story is truly an inspiring one. The signs of a new era are there for all to see in the new community units that the people have built because of great leadership. But let no one mistake the true meaning. The signs have appeared because the St. Francis Xavier University leaders went down to ethical and religious bedrock for their foundation. They awakened the blind eyes, lifted the hanging heads and strengthened the minds and sinews of the people by giving them a new rule of economic procedure. They did this by appealing to the spirit that was within, waiting for just such a call and challenge.

Communism was rife in the coal mining areas of Cape Breton because the people had lost faith in an economic system. In their hopelessness and misery they had begun to turn their backs on their religious and educational leaders simply because they were confused and bewildered by conflicting rules and formulae. The drift away from the Church continued until the men of St. Francis Xavier University met the challenge of the times and came forth with a new set of rules with which to reform the economic structure.

When the rules worked the drift stopped. By the thousands the miners began to trek back to their churches. In each community the local congregations began to grow as the cooperatives continued to expand. In their cooperatives they saw the laws of basic Christianity working and immediately began to turn more intelligently and understandingly to hear the message voiced for them by their spiritual leaders. Because of this the Communist party in Cape Breton has today shrunk to insignificant proportions.

Because of this, men like Dr. M. M. Coady, one of the great leaders of the St. Francis Xavier University extension movement, says vehemently, "You can't fight communism or fascism. You can only attack the conditions that drive people into these movements. Show the people how to wipe out the conditions against which they rebel and you save them for Christianity and democracy."

Here is the statement of one of the truly great religious leaders. He has seen this rule work. He has watched the steady upward march of his people: up out of the slough of poverty and misery, and the rebellion that such poverty engenders.

This to me is the meaning of the cooperative movement today. It means taking a rule of economic action that in some other countries had degenerated into a mere business of shopkeeping, as it has in England, and reinterpreting it as a great and moving philosophy. To my mind these men of St. Francis Xavier University, particularly Dr. J. J. Tompkins, will one day be consid-

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ered among the great spiritual educators of modern times. They have become great because they strengthened their idealism with intense practicality and rescued a people from degradation and despair.

The cooperative movement in the United States has, for the most part, been built up by practical men who saw in it merely a better way of doing business. Because they saw this and followed strictly along these lines, a truly magnificent business structure has been erected. But something more than this is necessary if we are to be rescued from the economic impasse into which we have drifted. The whole movement must be given new strength and power by the infusion of the spiritual and cultural renaissance that is so clearly outlined in Nova Scotia. Mere social philosophers can do little to infuse into the movement the breath of life it now demands. Only religious and educational leaders can do this. And I firmly believe that the greatest responsibility falls naturally upon the religious leaders.

Here is no question of whether a priest or pastor dare take a stand on economic questions. It is rather, considering the slow decay and decrepitude of our economic system, a question of whether the religious leaders dare refuse the challenge.

The cooperative movement all over the world today needs the spiritual and cultural substance that only religious leaders can give it. Without a clearly defined ethical and social content, the movement becomes a more gargantuan business structure impotent in the face of larger problems.

It has been said again and again by certain of the cooperative leaders that the religious leaders also need the cooperative movement. I would make that same statement, but I would also say that religious leaders, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, need to accept the true meaning of cooperation as a system of ethical economics and so shape and direct the movement that it shall grow into the glorious form it should show to the world.

This is the real challenge that St. Francis Xavier University has issued to the world today.

The Eye

By BRENDAN A. FINN

IT IS A well-known fact that, through the organ of vision, one mind can express its thought, its purpose, its energy or its fire (if it has any); can virtually shoot forth some effluence of any of these, and thus exert influence or power on another mind. This fact has, unquestionably, been familiar to men in all historic times. The simple statement of it would not have surprised any educated man in any age, for ocular expression has been understood ever since love has been a power in this world. And yet little has been written of it save in the books of poets, and all that has been said of it in these seems, indeed, to have made no great impression. Emerson, in his "Conduct of Life," has given a page or two to the subject, and, according to his usual custom, he has said as much as he could in a little space. Two eminent prose writers also deserve honor for not letting this matter utterly escape their attention. I refer to Lord Bacon and old Robert Burton. The former tells us that there are two affections which tend especially to draw the spirits into the eyes, and they are love and envy. "The aspects," says he, "which procure love, are not gazings but sudden glances and dartings of the eye." He teaches that envy emits some malign and poisonous spirit which takes hold of the spirit of another, and is of greatest force when the cast of the eye is oblique.

But let us look at some of the striking instances and testimonies which Burton gives in respect to the effectiveness of ocular expression. There was Stratocles, a bleary-eyed old physician, who had been a woman-hater all his life and a bitter persecutor of the whole sex. "Yet this doting old fool was so taken at last by that celestial and divine look of Myrilla, the daughter of Anticles, the gardener—that smirking wench—that he shaved off his bushy beard, painted his face, curled his hair, wore a laurel wreath to cover his bald pate, and for her love besides was ready to run mad." It was the opinion of Plotinus that love is derived from sight. One of the ancient writers called the eyes the "harbingers of love," and another described them as the "hooks of love." The mistress of Philostratus Lemnius had such power over him by her basilisk eyes that he once exclaimed to her, "What a tyranny, what a penetration of bodies is this!" Suetonius declares that the eyes of Caesar Augustus had such brightness they compelled the spectators to look away; indeed, spectators could no more endure them than they could the sunbeams. Euryalus and Lucretia became mutually enamored by the eye and were thus prepared to entertain each other before they had exchanged a word. And Calisiris says of the Thracian maiden, Rudolphe, that if she had but looked on anyone she would almost have bewitched him in spite of all his power to resist her.

And what must have been the power and penetration of Mary's eyes! The purity of her immaculate soul was certainly mirrored in

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those clear deep eyes. From them brightly shone the light of love and the serenity of perfect peace. Surely the eyes of the Mother of God, the glorious and immaculate consort of the Blessed Trinity, must have been wonderful to behold!

Now we come to certain general suggestive propositions concerning the visual organ. First, observe that the human eye very properly may be regarded as an interesting field for exploration. In so far as I have been able to ascertain, this organ has never yet been studied as fully as it might be. It affords phenomena which remain unexplained and unsimplified. Scientists, it is true, have taken due notice of these strange ocular exhibitions, but they have given us little more than a fair record of them. Take for instance the fact that pressure on the ball of the eye just back of the cornea, when the eyelids are closed, will produce brilliant circular images. By making the pressure rapidly at several points in succession there will seem to be wheels within wheels playing in the whole interior of the eye. Further, the organ of vision may be so pressed with the finger that it will seem to be a room, a dimly lighted parlor or drawing room, where a dark blue globe, having rings of brightness like the ring which runs round the planet Saturn, is moving from side to side. And what is the explanation of these phenomena? Where is it given? For myself, I must admit that I do not know.

Take another curious fact in regard to the eye. I refer to what the great essayist, Thomas De Quincey, calls the "creative state of the eye." If you turn to the ninety-fifth page of his "Confessions of an Opium-Eater," you will find there his characteristic observations on this strange state of the organ of vision. Under the influence of the drug he experienced a "reawaking of a state of eye generally incident to childhood or exalted states of irritability." He mentions the fact that "many children, most perhaps, have a power of painting, as it were, upon the darkness all sorts of phantoms." While in some the power is only a mechanic affection of the eye, in others it is connected with the will, so that the phantoms can be dismissed or summoned at pleasure. A child when once questioned by him on the matter, said, "I can tell them to go and they go, but sometimes they come when I don't tell them to come!" He says that he told the child that he had almost as unlimited a command over apparitions as a Roman centurion over his soldiers. "In the middle of 1817, I think it was," says Mr. De Quincey, "that this faculty became positively distressing to me. At night when I lay awake in bed, vast processions passed along in mournful pomp; friezes of never-ending stories, that to my feelings were as sad and solemn as if they were stories drawn from times before Edipus or Priam, before Tyre, before Memphis." It appears that his eye had such a creative power that whatever image he formed in his mind became at once an ocular or visual image. What is the precise explanation of this strange, phantasmagoric, perplexing state of the eye? I do not member having see it anywhere.

Second, please observe that the eye is a sense which is pre-eminently intimate with the intellectual powers. The organ of vision seems to be the shortest avenue of approach to the immortal substance of the inner man. Its form, its structure, its office, all conspire to make it the most splendid organ of the human system. The eye is specially suggestive of the mind. There is a peculiar elevation indicated in its way of working. You do not *feel* the sensation involved in vision. Indeed, the sense has a sort of intellectual freedom. It appears to go through space as thought does. The light that is reflected to the retina produces no titillation there; it produces no effect whatever that tells you the particular place where the image of the object is formed. Nothing like this characterizes the other senses. When you perceive by the sense of touch, you feel, or seem to feel, the impression of the object in your fingers before you feel it in your mind. And when you sniff an odor you are conscious of a sense of smell in your nose as well of a perception of smell by your mind. But when do you feel the distinction between sensation and perception in seeing? Surely, never!

Ten thousand would be less than the number of images formed daily in that transparent orb set beneath my brow. I turn toward the forest and it is at once visually transferred to the interior of my eye. I meet men and in a moment they stand in my eye. The little insect is there, flitting. The wind-tossed leaf is there, nodding. The fair-feathered bird is there, flying and hopping. My retina has houses standing on it in all their pride; it has rocky heights towering on it in long and steep ranges, shaggy with storm-battered trees; it has fields of young corn lying on it; it has waters on it, speeding with cataract leaps down their rugged and circuitous path. And yet all these things do not tire my wonderful retina. In my vision-orb, in my ever mysterious eye, I feel them not. I do but turn and look, and at once my intellect beholds them. Surely there must be a great intimacy between the eye and the soul!

Third, please observe that the eye is the most convenient channel for the conveyance of the subtile nervous fluid generated in the brain and exerted by the mind. A multitude of well-attested facts might readily be brought forward to show that the organ of vision is more than a receiver of image-giving rays. It can be shown to be an avenue through which something is sent out as well as let in. We may reasonably believe that our minds are capable of a species of fine, piercing effluence. Call it nervous fluid, call it brain electricity, call it phreno-magnetism, call it what

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you will, but whatever name you choose to give it, there is an elastic, permeating, inexplicable element which goes forth invisibly from the inmost soul and sometimes thrills and sometimes almost overpowers its recipient. The eye is the great outlet for this subtile, penetrating, and if I may so term it, superphysical fluid. We all use our eyes more often than we know as instruments of producing impressions upon minds that are within our reach. We merely look at a person and thus have an effect on him. William Wirt in his biography of Patrick Henry speaks of the power of that great orator's eyes. They were bluish-grey, not large; brilliant, full of spirit, and capable of the most rapidly shifting and powerful expression. "At one time," says Mr. Wirt, "piercing and terrible as those of Mars, and then again soft and tender as those of Pity herself!" His pauses "came always," says the biographer, "at the right moment, and were always filled by the speaker with a matchless energy of look which drove the thought home through the mind and through the heart." Who has not observed how far oratory is emasculated and deprived of effectiveness when the eye is trammeled by a manuscript? The orator who reads his message sends no brain-magnetism through his eyes.

See yonder poor blind man. How destitute of expression is his face! He smiles, but there comes no ray from his smile that moves you. He speaks, but there comes nothing with his word that thrills you. He has lost the most convenient and effective channel for the conveyance of brain-magnetism.

"The eyes," said Salvianus, "are the windows of our souls." Bacon says fascination is ever by the eye. "He that hath a clear eye," says Ficinus, "though he be otherwise deformed, by often looking upon him will make one mad and tie him fast to him by the eye." "Eyes," says Emerson, "are as bold as lions, roving, running, leaping here and there, far and near. They speak all languages. They wait for no introduction; they are no Englishman; ask no leave of age or rank; they respect neither poverty nor riches, neither learning nor power, nor virtue, nor sex, but intrude and come again and go through and through you in a moment of time."

Through the bright orb of vision comes a force that can be used for purposes good and bad. Philostratus tells of an Ephesian who had so pernicious an eye that he poisoned those upon whom he looked steadily. And Burton quotes from Castilio the statement that wanton, wandering, adulterous eyes lie still as so many soldiers, and "when they spy an innocent spectator fixed on them, shoot him through and presently bewitch him, especially when they shall gaze and gloat as wanton lovers do one upon another, and with a pleasant eye-conflict participate each others' souls." The force of the eye can also be used to put back impertinence, to chill the heart of deceit, to make insolence cower. There is a look of peace, and a look of trouble; there is a glance of cunning and a glance of shyness. Through the eye the passion first leaps out and makes itself felt. There the glow of courage, there the fever of impatience, there the flame of enthusiasm, and there the smoldering desire of revenge have their inevitable manifestation. "Love, anger, pride, and avarice," says Addison, "all move in those little orbs."

All the feelings of the soul have their expression in the eye, and those who have skilled themselves to read these messages will not often read them incorrectly. Human nature reveals itself at the portal of this avenue more readily than it does anywhere else. You can tell by the eyes whether a man is a good man or a rascal. The polish of the refined gentleman shines out in his visual organ, and the meanness of the vulgar sneak indicates itself in his. "The ox-eyed, venerable Juno," says Homer. How fine is the serenity of the dark eye of the ox, in which you can see yourself as in a mirror! It expresses the repose of solid strength; it manifests the usual feeling of a large, deep, hale nature. Homer was right. The ideal form of Jupiter's spouse should not have an eye like that of a cat, or like that of a hawk, or like that of a sheep. Being a goddess-queen, she ought to express a divine gentleness, a serene magnanimity. Homer thought so and therefore he called her "ox-eyed and venerable."

I leave the reader these thoughts concerning the eye, along with the following quotation from Emerson: "The glance is natural magic. We look into the eyes to know if this other form is another self, and the eyes will not lie but make a faithful confession what inhabitant is there. The revelations are sometimes terrific. The confession of a low, usurping devil is there made, and the observer shall seem to feel the stirring of owls, and bats, and horned hoofs where he looked for innocence and simplicity."

No Dream

I sometimes think that I love strangers best,
People who catch my heart in shop or street,
At ease in anonymity. Discreet,
I praise them with my glance. No need to test
The sum of enigmatic features lest
Some lurking decadence at last defeat
Fidelity; that innocent lip, too sweet,
Must do without the pity of my breast. . . .
These chosen loves pass gently down the stream
That follows time and turns into forever
At the next corner. I bless them, for they never
Frustrate the truth of one spontaneous dream
That is no dream unless clear sight can lie:
The soul sits plain in the unguarded eye!

MARION CANBY.

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Contrast in France

By FÉLIX KLEIN

FRANCE has suffered less from an economic and financial point of view than most other countries until the last few years. It was the 1936 elections that disturbed her equilibrium by giving power to a Popular Front majority which was too powerful numerically, too weak in the diversity of the parties that composed it—Radical-Socialists, Socialists, Communists. Since the first two of these parties had formed an alliance with the Communists to win the election, they had to reckon with them in the exercise of power. This was in large part a fault of the parties of the Right, but the consequences were deplorable and prevented the new social laws from producing the excellent results that might have been expected had they been studied less emotionally, drawn up in less haste and applied more on the basis of the actual conditions of the country.

There were enacted at one and the same time a material wage increase and a sudden reduction of the hours of work. Naturally so sharp a drop in production and business profits resulted that prices had to be raised. When the cost of living rose, wages had again to be increased and so on—a race between the cost of production and the cost of living. In addition there were the recriminations and struggles between capital and labor, the hatred carefully worked up by agitators, especially by bolshevist agents against whom the authorities could not defend themselves as freely as they should have, because of the unfortunate alliance with Russia.

Here are some facts and figures to substantiate these charges. The State, which in France has more functions than in the United States, was the first victim. Expenses exceeded income to such an extent that heavy domestic and foreign borrowing was necessary. The franc, which had been so severely devalued in 1926, underwent in two years another depreciation of 40 percent; nevertheless the market price of State securities was below what it was in 1935 and 1936. There is ten times less gold in the franc of today than in the franc of 1913. England and the United States borrow with ease at rates of 2 to 2½ percent; France, with difficulty at 6 percent. Despite a crushing increase of taxes the State spends, in forms more or less apparent, nearly double what it takes in.

In 1937 the balance of trade showed a deficit twice that of 1936; imports exceeded exports by more than 18 billion francs. The value of coal imports had tripled and risen to 6 billions. We still own our coal mines, but despite increasing the wages and numbers of our miners, they produce much less. For instance, the mines of the North and the Pas de Calais, with 20,000 additional workmen, produce 176,000 tons less each month than in 1936. The railroads, which have added 90,000 workers, show a continued deficit despite continual raising of the rates. Hotel and department store securities, which should have prospered in 1937 because of the Exposition, fell off in the following proportions: Bon Marché, 29 percent; Le Louvre, 44 percent; Le Printemps, 86 percent; Hotel Lutetia, 26 percent; Grand Hotel, 40 percent.

But the most disturbing figure is perhaps that for building construction, cut in two since 1930. In Paris the first eleven months of 1937 showed only 313 requests for building permits, aggregating 365 storeys, when the first eleven months of 1913 included 1,858 such requests aggregating 6,370 storeys. "When building goes, everything goes," says a French proverb. But when building stops everything else stops.

Unfortunately this sad picture could be expanded to show, for instance, that divorces are increasing while marriages and especially births are on the decrease. But I am anxious to show developments of a quite different character. In that same country, France, where so many misfortunes seem to be presaging decay, there is a moral force, religion, which is expanding and promises a genuine reconstruction. The Church is more alive and more active there, freer and more respected, than it has been for nearly two hundred years.

To be sure two laws which are hostile still remain, the secularization of the grammar schools and the prohibition of religious congregations. But the second is no longer applied and the bad effects of the first are counterbalanced by our Catholic schools and the religious teaching possible outside of the classroom. Since the separation of Church and State in 1905, we have been enjoying in France the liberties enjoyed by American Catholics. The State no longer intervenes in the nomination of bishops and parish priests. The right of ownership which we had lost in 1905 by refusing to accept the parish cultural associations was restored after the war, when Rome and the French government recognized diocesan associations. We are at liberty to create new parishes and build new churches. The archdiocese of Paris which established but two or three under the Second Empire has built more than one hun-

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dred churches in the past thirty years, with schools, workshops and rectories, as in America.

Since the Great War anti-clericalism has ceased to be an electoral platform. Nearly all the representatives of government and of the press admit that the State has the right to regulate the temporal; the Church, the spiritual. They even recognize that the Church, without entering into the details of political and social solutions, furnishes moral principles and creates the atmosphere necessary for their successful application. An indication of this is the increasing attention paid to statements of the Pope on the great problems of the day, to his appeals for civil and international peace, to his condemnations of communism and Hitlerism and to the great social encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI.

Men of state praisingly cite pontifical documents so frequently that certain Catholics first hear of these pronouncements in reading the discourses of our ministers. The social teaching of the Church penetrates little by little to the general public, where by its breadth and its charity it awakens first astonishment, then admiration and soon sympathy.

The manifestations of this new attitude are more and more frequent and important. The most important was the official reception of Cardinal Pacelli last year. In regard to the 1937 Exposition, it is well known that the Holy See took a large part therein and that the chapel it erected there was the scene of magnificent religious ceremonies. It is not generally known that the main altar of that chapel was a gift of the government of Léon Blum. Still less well known is the fact that in July, 1937, when the Pope expressed a desire to go to Lisieux personally to honor Saint Thérèse whom he had canonized and to whose intercession he attributed his cure, the government offered the Holy Father the Palace of Versailles for the duration of his visit to France.

I should like to call attention to the new position of honor that religion now occupies in the intellectual world, notably in the principal schools and universities. To cite a single example, there is the French Academy, whose members have elected four times in succession perpetual secretaries whose religious fervor is well known: Paul Thureau-Dangin, Étienne Lamy, René Doumic and quite recently Georges Goyau. Because of limitations of space I shall speak only of what justifies the greatest hope, the extraordinary progress of the Associations of Catholic Youth, especially among the working classes.

One of these associations, that of the Jocistes (J.O.C., Young Christian Workers), which has been in existence for only ten years, was recently able to muster 85,000 members, much to the astonishment of the citizens of Paris. It was fine to see that tremendous gathering of workers, young men and young women, affirming their faith, assisting at Mass together in the open air, listening to the exhortations of their leaders, of the bishops and the cardinals, proclaiming in chants and enthusiastic affirmation their resolution to bring all their fellow workers to the Divine Workman of Nazareth. They are admirably organized, with their own newspapers and study clubs for young men and young women, with preparatory groups for boys and girls of twelve to fourteen, and a Workers' League which receives them and continues to serve them when they are old enough to establish a family of their own. With the Pope and the bishops I see in this movement the most effective means offered to Catholicism to win back the masses which have been lost to the Church for a hundred years.

And the J.O.C. is not the only one of the so-called "mouvements spécialisés" now working in France to bring about a Christian renewal. In addition to the Catholic Scouts, whose usefulness is not diminishing, there are the Jacistes (J.A.C., Young Christian Farmers), the young men and young women engaged in a similar apostolate in rural areas; the Jecistes (J.E.C., Young Christian Students), which include members of both sexes from the universities and from schools of every category. There is even a J.M.C. for young sailors.

An organization fifty-two years old but still prospering and well adapted to present circumstances, Catholic Action of French Youth (A.C.J.F.), links together all the movements without depriving them of their initiative. In every diocese a central committee unifies their action and enables the local leaders to compare notes and coordinate their activities.

The new characteristic common to all the "mouvements spécialisés" is that the members pledge themselves not only to be good Christians personally but to spread the Faith each in his own immediate environment. It is the apostolate of like by like, more feasible because it is exercised on subjects whom one knows well and because it combines words with example.

The first members of these groups met with some astonishment and occasional defiance. But as they showed that they were good comrades no less devoted to the material betterment of their class than to the cause of religion they soon won the sympathy of their fellow workers. It can be said that today our Jocistes no longer encounter hostility among the socialists and certainly not among the communists. The time is happily past when the words "religion" and "democracy" are opposed as irreconcilable. However grave our material difficulties, France will overcome them because she has a new-born, rapidly growing Catholic youth movement, inspired by faith, fired with zeal and marvelously adapted to the latest needs of true democracy.

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Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

ACCORDING to an editorial writer in the New York *Times*, "there is a growing belief that salvation lies in science." We have a vague impression that we have heard something like that sweeping assertion before. However, the writer in the *Times* has assembled considerable evidence in support of his opinion, and it is not without interest to examine it with him. First of all, so it seems, an "encyclopedic volume" has been published in England, a "remarkably comprehensive" book entitled "Science for the Citizen," written by Professor Lawrence Hogben, which "is selling like a novel," and which is soon to be published in America—where, perhaps, it may be expected to sell like the Bible, if many people share the views expressed in the *Times*. Professor Hogben, we are told, "presents science not as Huxley's 'organized common sense' but as 'organized workmanship—something which has helped to make this chaotic world what it is today and which can be applied to save it from destruction.'" The *Times* writer assures us that the International Council of Scientific Unions, animated by convictions similar to those of Professor Hogben, intends to "collect materials for the preparation of a report on the social aspects of science." Moreover, the International Labor Office, it appears, has issued a monograph appraising "the rapid progress made in science and invention" and which goes on to wonder "what prosperity might we not now enjoy in a different atmosphere." And at the forthcoming meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, "an effort will be made to initiate a movement for the utilization of the resources of science to teach nations that war, slums, poverty, can be eradicated just as we eradicate malaria or typhoid."

The New York *Times* writer, however, while he finds that these scientific bodies and writers are singularly unanimous in holding that "the world is being held back by autarchy"—the doctrine of national self-sufficiency—and that only the contrary doctrine of a world community is in full accord with the truth as discovered by science," for science is essentially international in its free exchange of ideas, its utter disregard of race, creed and nationality," nevertheless registers his own belief, in which many others will agree, that "despite his awareness of the importance of his work, the scientist needs arousing. His sense of social responsibility does not match his sense of scientific responsibility, meaning his responsibility to be objective and to give his discoveries to the world. If Italian professors reach absurd conclusions about an Italian race, if Russian scientists repudiate the sounder findings of genetics and eugenists because, under the Marxian dispensation, it is theoretically enough to provide mankind with a healthy environment to cure it of all its ills, there should be some authoritative body to spring into action and broadcast the scientific truth." That body, says the *Times*, might possibly be a committee speaking for the British and American Associations for the Advancement of Science; or possibly it might be the International Council of Scientific Unions.

Truly, as the *Times* writer says, the need for some such clearing-house for the dissemination of the demonstrable facts, the definitely ascertained truths, proceeding from scientific studies, is unmistakable. Professor Hogben is not alone in "fearing for the large and growing number of adolescents who realize that they will be the first victims of the destructive powers of science misapplied." I suppose he means war weapons, rendered so tremendously destructive by scientific means. But there are many other, and perhaps even more deadly, things which mankind suffers from science misapplied. There is our maladjusted economic system, in which great scientific inventions and improvements which in themselves were neither good nor bad have been so used because of greed as to wreak untold misery and poverty and despair upon millions of men, women and children. And there have been the misapplication of science, and of pseudo-science, in the service of false, pernicious philosophies and racial and national and class ideologies, which have weakened or wrecked countless human souls. Indeed, as the *Times* goes on to say, "what we need is guidance and a clear call from the men best qualified to sound it."

But who are the men best qualified to guide humanity in the best possible use of the findings of science? A committee of scientists? It will require more than the influence of the editorial writer of the New York *Times* to convince many of his readers of the merits of that suggestion. There is no "growing belief that salvation lies in science," except, perhaps, among those who have lost belief in something higher than science in the scale of values and who turn to hope in science to save themselves from despair. But science is not science if it is anything other than the discovery and the application of precisely measurable facts, material facts. The application of such knowledge depends upon other than scientific criteria; they are applied rightly or wrongly according to moral and religious values. And for the right scale of such values there is one only place for mankind to turn—the Church of Christ. It is not science but religion, the true religion, the religion of Jesus Christ, deposited in the care of His Church, whose pilot on earth is the successor of Saint Peter, that has been given the work of man's salvation. When scientists discover that truth—as more and more of them are doing—they do not cease to be scientists but they learn a truth that does not come within the purview of science as science, yet is the truth to which all the material truths of science should be orientated in their employment by men.

Communications

A REVOLUTION DOESN'T COME OFF

Ascutney, Vt.

TO the Editors: Someone ought to get Miss Lillian Arnold a job picking birdseed out of No. 7½ shot. She'd be good at it; almost as good as she is with her pink obscurantist technique.

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Apparently I was wrong in surmising that Toledano's trip abroad from Mexico might turn into an exile. Such an exile had happened before, and in the light of several things that had happened down there I thought—and still think—I was justified in surmising that Toledano *might* be going into exile. I was not positive about this, and Miss Arnold has made a fuss over it only that she might put in a plug for the present Communist strategy of the Popular Front, as she does in her last paragraph (August 5 issue of THE COMMONWEAL).

As to whether or not Toledano carries a card certifying his membership in the Communist party, I do not know and I rather doubt that he does. It would not be good strategy to do so at the present time. And like all good, present-day Communist leaders, he changes his color as often as a chameleon and as easily, sometimes with every speech. As Cedillo said to me in conversation: "Toledano—one day he is a Nationalist, the next day a Communist. He fools no one, though." No one except Miss Arnold and her pinko friends, but they fool easily.

I can name Rightists and Centrists in Mexico who have said that Toledano is a Communist, and I can name one Leftist, now working in Mexico City for an American-owned firm, who will not deny that Toledano is a Communist. Naturally, I will not name these for Miss Arnold's benefit; or, who knows, there might again be guns on the streets of Mexico City, as there were on an evening last March near the corner of 3d Calle de Motolinia and Avenida Francisco I. Madero.

Finally, if Miss Arnold is "not so sure" that Toledano would have any objection to social reforms stemming from the teachings of the Church, let me assure her that Toledano has no sympathy for the Church. He has made too many anti-Catholic speeches—before the new Popular Front strategy was inaugurated, to be sure—and he would lose too much of his atheistic following if he came out too strongly, even though merely as an expedient, for the Church. American Catholics kid easily sometimes; some of them might even fall for a faker like Toledano; Mexican Catholics don't kid so easily. They've seen the dead lying in the streets and the Communist posters on the walls.

HARRY SYLVESTER.

PASSING IT ON

Solesmes, France.

TO the Editors: I am in the habit of passing on my COMMONWEALS to a religious in Paris who bestows them where they will do good. Of late, however, I have done so reluctantly. The Charlot cartoons, with their fine virtuosity, trechant wit and basic charity, I often covet. Then came a splendid number where the back of the magazine disagreed with the front on high grounds and with perfect courtesy in the best tradition of Catholic freedom, loyalty and tolerance. I let it go after a struggle. But at last my moral resistance collapsed, temptation was too strong and I *stole* Agnes Repplier's "Gifts."

May I be forgiven—when I repent.

FRANCES W. DELEHANTY.

The Screen

Actors and Pugs and Councillors

THERE are a couple of times in "Letter of Introduction" when it seems as if this were really a first-rate picture; but somehow when it's all put together, it doesn't quite click. Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy are funnier than ever and have plenty of good gags. Charlie becomes delightfully indignant in one scene when Mr. Bergen introducer Mortimer, a new dummy from the farm, who almost steals the show from Charlie. Adolphe Menjou comes through with one of those superior performances in which he has proved himself many times most capable. But pretty Andrea Leeds doesn't quite continue the outstanding acting that she promised in "Stage Door." Perhaps the story is to blame. You get a little out of patience with a plot that insists on the heroine's silence when a little explaining would make it clear to all concerned that the great matinée idol, who has taken such an interest in her, is really her father and nothing more. However, there's plenty of excitement that will appeal to most audiences; and there's one scene of thrilling suspense in which the matinée idol fails his daughter and his public. The honors of the picture go to Adolphe Menjou and to the Bergen-McCarthy combination.

Another picture that it bound to please a large audience is "The Crowd Roars." Robert Taylor, in the pink of condition, as Tommy McCoy starting out as a choir boy, becoming a pug from nowhere and finishing as Killer McCoy (Apollo shoving out with his left), is surrounded by an excellent cast which includes Edward Arnold, Frank Morgan, William Gargan, Lionel Stander and Nat Pendleton. The picture has strong stuff and some good fights even though its history is a bit on the weak side, and seems at times too closely patterned after "Kid Galahad." Fortunately the "girl" angle isn't overemphasized, except for one love-sick babe who thinks Mr. Taylor looks just as wonderful in "tails" as in tights, and for Maureen O'Sullivan, the daughter of Taylor's gambler-backer who of course disapproves of his daughter's falling in love with a prize-fighter. Fight fans may be surprised at Taylor's good form, and they will wonder how, after several rounds of suffering, he manages to keep his face in condition to court Miss O'Sullivan.

Anglophiles will love "South Riding," Alexander Korda's picture made from the novel by Winifred Holtby. Plain U. S.ers will find it a slow moving, quiet picture full of arguments between councillors and aldermen about housing projects. Beautiful scenes of Yorkshire countryside are the setting for the rather Jane Eyreish story of the teacher in love with a squire who is tied down by a wife who has been "put away." The plot gets rather crowded with side issues and many personalities in the manner of a long English novel, but some half-dozen of the characters emerge with unusually distinct reality. Edna Best's performance as the teacher, who believes that England's future is in the hands of its children, is splendid; and she is ably assisted by Ralph Richardson and Edmund Gwenn.

PHILIP HARTUNG.

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Books of the Day

Sudden Doom

The Last Five Hours of Austria, by Eugene Lennhoff. New York: Frederick A. Stokes. $2.50.

NINE P.M., March 11, 1938. Flight from Vienna. The old historic road between Vienna and Bratislawa is jammed with innumerable cars. At the frontier one learns of a new horror: "The border is closed. All cars must return to Vienna." Only one—bearing a diplomatic license plate—remains. A white-faced woman is seated in it. Two sleeping children are at her side. It is Frau Dollfuss, widow of the murdered Chancellor, trying to escape with a forged passport. At the same time two unassuming looking people, a boy and a girl, cross the frontier into Hungary. They are the brother and sister of Otto, regarded by the Legitimists as emperor. Among the escaping Viennese was one uniquely equipped by character and profession to describe these awesome hours: Eugene Lennhoff, editor of the Vienna *Telegraph* and author of "Politische Geheimbünde im Voelkergeschehen."

In his hastily written book, "The Last Five Hours of Austria," he gives the first authentic and chronological report of Austria's day of doom. As editor of a newspaper which supported the last government, he was able to survey at first hand political developments of the moment. He and his staff had unquestioned access to every important office; he could telephone anywhere for information. On March 11 his wires burned with news from scattered points: Graz, Linz, Salzburg, London, Rome. He was in communication with the Ministry of the Interior and with the Chancellery. There were wild, unbelievable rumors afloat. Ultimatum from Berlin: the plebiscite, scheduled for March 13, has to be postponed. Lennhoff himself and his collaborator vacillate between hope and despair. "The Cabinet is in permanent session." Information from the Chancellery ceases. At three p.m. Lennhoff was busy with a special edition for the plebiscite. Excitement was growing in the streets. A second ultimatum from Berlin: the plebiscite has to be called off. This plebiscite was to have been the declaration of free Austrians to preserve their independence. Lennhoff tries to reach Schuschnigg himself. The public wants information. None is forthcoming. . . . There are rumors of German troops at the frontier. Czechoslovakia-bound trains are crammed with fugitives. Near the Opera House you can already buy swastika badges. Then comes the news: "German troops have reached the Austrian border." The public, hitherto in doubt, begins to believe it all. Street shouting—the Nazi chorus *versus* the anti-Nazi chorus. A lull; the Nazis disappear. A keen reporter surmises the meaning: "Boots, brown shirts, rifles." Came at last the fatal message: the plebiscite is indefinitely postponed. Over the radio, for the last time, the broken voice of a doomed man spoke—it was Schuschnigg. ". . . We are yielding to force. . . . And so I take my leave of the Austrian people with a heartfelt wish: God save Austria." Then solemnly and softly was played the old Austrian anthem, composed by Joseph Haydn, one of Austria's greatest sons. Once, a second, a third time. And the awareness spread. All is over, all is over. Austria, once one of the mightiest of nations, center of the old Hapsburg monarchy, last remainder of the Holy Roman Empire, was now a thing of the past.

What is the value of this kind of report, beyond giving a merely sensational impression for the contemporary reader? By origin and character this type of description exists on the border-line between the irrational, chaotic stream of consciousness and the rationalization thereof in historical works. Its function is to vivify meaningless data by means of the warm blood of living human beings, who suffered and perished during this moment in the march of time. For the future it will be a source of knowledge to which every sceptic and truth-seeking thinker, who is tired of commonplace interpretation, may turn in order to experience history.

But at the moment this document has a unique mission. It is a warning, a signal, a revelation to all those easy-minded people scattered over the world who think that Fascism is a remote thing. What has happened in Austria can happen anywhere. Fascism is a political disease, an expression of hopelessness, of starvation of body and mind, a manifestation of men's reason unhinged by universal changes in political and social conditions. It can affect any nation, can ruin any culture, can take hold of any human being. It is the meeting place of all the desperate elements which any society contains. Its strength lies in that it arouses all those animal instincts which are so slightly covered by our proud modern civilization; it shrewdly reckons with the stupidity and brutality of the man in the street. Its power lies in that it works with mechanical precision. All the technical improvements of our time—created by scientists and workers for the benefit of mankind—are in its hands solely a means of destruction.

The fatal truth somewhat involuntarily unveiled in this report is that nobody in Vienna took the matter of the nearness of Nazi Germany as seriously as it ought to have been taken. Even more exciting than all the details given in this description of the last five hours of Austria is the fact that neither this efficient reporter, nor the idealistic statesman Schuschnigg, nor the intelligentia gathered as usual in the cafés, nor the masses of workers, nor all those noble-hearted officers and men, young and old, who were ready to fight, knew, or even dreamed, that only a world war could have saved Austria, once the new Germany with her splendidly organized and insidious propaganda and power of arms wanted to conquer her. This authentic report teaches the truth that Fascism, this new element in history, cannot be understood in the light of old historical terms; cannot be fought by old arms; cannot be overcome by anxious thinking. Much is to be done by the upbuilding of armies, fleets, airships. But the more profound question is: will it be possible to mobilize human beings to live and die for higher ideals than the materialism of blood and soil? The near future will show if the new German heroism, which cannot be denied and which cannot be overestimated, will be met by an equally heroic spirit on the democratic side. It is not the arsenals which will decide the fate of our civilization, but the educators, the priests, the leaders of human souls.

ANNA HELLERSBERG-WENDRINER.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

War and the Christian, by Charles E. Raven. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.75.

THE REGIUS professor of divinity in the University of Cambridge has added one more to the numerous books on the case against war. His argument in short is this: formerly British churchmen were successively interested in education, leisure, housing, unemployment, the

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Labour party, communism and Church reunion. Now as a result of the Oxford Conference of 1937 it is war which engages their enthusiastic attention. War is shown to be evil since it is a source of waste, lies, pain and hate. The Bible, the author says, enjoys only limited infallibility; otherwise, justification for "just" wars could be found in it. War is possibly endemic to civilization but it should never be conceded that it is inevitable. Participation of the individual in war cannot be vindicated on the ground that responsibility therefor pertains to the state to which the individual owes obedience. Obligations of the citizen are subservient to obligations of the Christian qua Christian. War should be renounced by Christians notwithstanding that strong arguments show the present time appears not to be the opportune moment for translating renunciation of war into the destroying of British armament.

This will some day be done, however, since the evolution of man shows that though struggle is a permanent condition of life it is passing from the physical to the psychological plane. At present there is a very large body of pacifists who stand for definitive rejection of war and an equally large group of non-pacifists who join with the former in condemning war but who believe that its elimination rests with the future. These two groups should somehow meet on common ground through the medium of discussion and with their consolidated strength save civilization. As to Rome little can be expected from that quarter. Indeed, "its attitude to war is bringing [it] into world-wide disrepute." The author's general attitude toward Catholicism is easily inferred from his citation with approval of the work of C. J. Cadoux.

This book, as appears from its opening chapters, was primarily intended for British consumption. Reading it against a background of the current British rearmament program a strong impression of the separation between pacifist ideals and contemporary actualities cannot be avoided. JAMES N. VAUGHAN.

The Coming Victory of Democracy, by Thomas Mann. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $1.00.
Save America First, by Jerome Frank. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.75.

IT IS as if the German exile were speaking, unperturbed, from the shadow of an outside pillar to an audience facing a street scene mad with barbarism. In this situation, the spectator's earnest sense of humor—quite above any infringement of levity—reduces Fascism from an inevitable motion toward eventual world tragedy to a persistent commotion of sound effects that will end, at length, of its own fatigue.

Dr. Mann's 67-page booklet is an enlargement of his lecture delivered this year across America. Here is an intuitive philosophy, holding that democracy will come to victory through social discipline instigated by a world conscience-action that is not "infidelity to nature." It will reach future populations; it does reach contemporary idealists. After all, idealists are the most practical people on earth. It is for this very reason that one, however depressed in the tangible proof of current events, holds Fascism a moribund monstrosity even as it grows.

But one is not unduly critical if, accepting Dr. Mann's charge to America to lead the world by example, one still remarks that American "democracy" is a shilly-shally approach to democracy—not an accomplishment.

It is an orderly transition from Dr. Mann's book into Mr. Frank's; and if one need go farther than the title of the latter to connect the two, he finds in the Preface the sensible postulate that "Americans can do nothing . . . to solve the present basic problems of Europe—except to ensure a sane and flourishing democratic civilization in America which can cooperate with Europe whenever the latter is able to throw off its present economic and political anarchy and to achieve the kind of continental integration under one government which is our blessed heritage."

With a scholarship that by now should surprise no one, Mr. Frank reviews the history of economic and political actualities and propositions, particularly the history of capitalism, with incisive allusions to so many economists and so many historical situations it would take more than the space here allotted to list them.

Ingeniously expository of the fallacies among economists in drafting parallels between European and American economic bases, similarly critical of the common habit of muddling economic facts by use of ambiguous adjectives and nouns that rather associate then define, and repeatedly aggressive in its penchant for Marx-baiting, the book goes about its saving America with more extrinsic brilliance than salvation.

When one has covered half the 432 pages—and the course is unbelievably easy for a work of so ponderous a character—one discovers that Mr. Frank's plan is to save America by sublimating the selfishness of the profit system. The figures he puts down add up to Socialism, in spite of the answer-in-the-back-of-the-book that goes only as far as New-Dealism with a plus sign appended.

The book is a forum where conservatives, liberals and radicals can meet to confer upon intelligent orientation. One is tempted to suspect that even patient Mr. Frank is content to let the reactionaries follow Mr. Hoover into oblivion. LE GARDE S. DOUGHTY.

FICTION

Monday Night, by Kay Boyle. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

TELLING the story of "Monday Night" is as difficult as trying to tell the story of Ford Madox Ford's "The Good Soldier," or Henry James's "The Turn of a Screw," or William Faulkner's "Light in August." Just as in those excellent novels, the plot, though important, is not as important as the manner of telling it. Kay Boyle slowly, with explicit and carefully selected details in characterization and place, unfolds step after step taken by Wilt and Bernie in their mad, relentless search for the famous Parisian toxicologist. Miss Boyle's minute descriptions of a gesture or act, her many incoherent conversations and her skilful use of metaphor may seem to delay the forwarding of the story, but in reality the descriptions and conversations *are* the story and reveal more than pages of incidents.

In Paris two Americans (Wilt, the writer, unshaved, one ear a mangled sore, sweat-stained hat, soiled unpressed suit, dirty linen; and Bernie, just out of medical school, white eyelashes, tall, thin, in a cheap, too-small, blue suit) go to chemists, to many cafés and bars, to Malmaison to find Sylvestre, the toxicologist who had made a name for himself by testifying in courts in famous poisoning cases. A mood of horror and fascinating repugnance lingers with Wilt and Bernie as they get drunk and they meet, in the darkness of Monday night and Tuesday morning, person after person who is linked with the sinister toxicologist. Some of the chapters, like the one in which they play Monopoly with the servants at

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Sylvestre's estate, or the one in which the wife and child of one of Sylvestre's victims try to converse normally, are perfect examples of the nightmare school of fiction. Readers may find "Monday Night" too unpleasant, or may feel cheated by the ending of the book, but all will have to admit that Kay Boyle is a stylist of first rank and an artist in American prose. PHILIP HARTUNG.

Concord in Jeopardy, by Doris Leslie. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THIS book is the story of an artist in pre-war England—Alexander Concord. It is the record of his journey from his humble beginnings in dull and respectable Mimosa Street to fame and the fulfilment of his artistic ideal. From his earliest years, Concord was under the influence of some dominant character: Esther his mother, his friend Huckaby, Barford the radical, Brenda his wife, and the young girl Janet Enderby. Yet, underneath concession and compliance, we see the emergence of his will in an effort to free himself and to give expression to his art.

In her novel Doris Leslie has made use of the manner of biography, backed with all the trappings of research—names, dates, facts which never had existence other than in her own mind. The device is not entirely successful. In studying the character of Concord, we lose any ability to identify ourselves with him, except in occasional lyrical passages. The manner of biography is not the manner of fiction, and a novel so written risks having neither the historical interest of the one nor the charm of the other.

The background of the dockworkers' strike, the Jubilee, the Boer War, the agitation for the woman's vote, the World War, do provide scenes of arresting vividness. The strikers' meeting in Hyde Park has the unforgettable qualities of a bad dream. And there are certain flashes of observation and analysis, such as Barford's refusal to part with his art treasures in order to be a more perfect Radical, and Brenda's tolerance of the unkempt Futurist, Mikulski, because he was finally a name. There is emotion in the Florentine interlude, and a deft use of pathos in the scene in which Concord paints the portrait of Esther. Nor is the book entirely devoid of humor. But the net result is a general lack of vividness, which is, perhaps, the direct outgrowth of the method the author has chosen. LISETTE RIGGS.

MISCELLANEOUS

School for Riding, by Captain Sergei Kournakoff. Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint. $2.50.

"SCHOOL FOR RIDING" is written in narrative form, as dialogues between the instructor and a novice—a boy in his teens—who is taught to ride in the presence of his father. The latter provides a running criticism of the modern method of instruction and thus helps to explain and clarify many controversial points. The author calls himself a non-partizan, though a series of details betrays a rather well pronounced influence of the Italian School. His expounding of the "forward seat," which he does with an air of truly partizan ardor, seems somewhat superfluous because there is nothing new in it, and the forward seat is already an accepted form for equitation, except for the "Saddle Horse" class in show-rings. The book is profusely illustrated with very well selected photographs, and the line drawings, demonstrating various positions and the balance of the rider and his horse, are excellent. ANDREW TOLSTOY.

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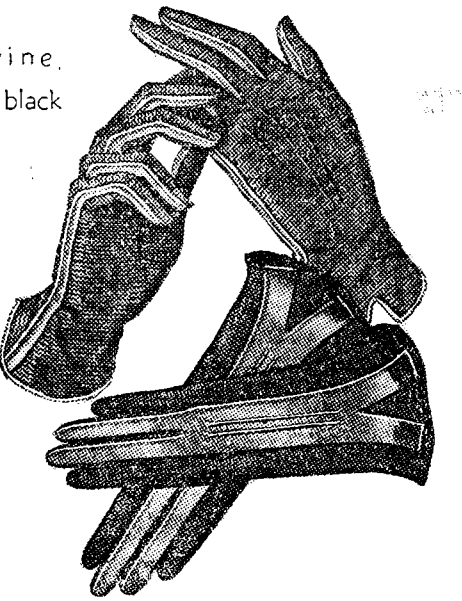

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WHEN Bishop John Sproll of Rottenburg, Germany, returned to his see for the first time since his refusal to take part in the Anschluss plebiscite, 10,000 storm troopers from Stuttgart and Nuremberg invaded the predominantly Catholic town of Rottenburg in trucks, went to the Bishop's residence and demanded to see him. When he refused they forced the main entrance, broke all the windows on the ground floor, set his bedroom afire and threw his prayer-book into the street. Finally a group of eighty policeman appeared and persuaded them to depart; no arrests were made.

An official document of the Archdiocese of Freiburg gives a list of the major offenses against the Church there since the Nazis came into power five years ago. The document cites the "patriotism" campaign against the clergy individually and collectively, "immorality trials, the campaign for apostasy, the removal of the crucifix from the schools and the profanation of the crucifix and other religious symbols." In 1936 publicly declared apostasies numbered 2,798; last year, 3,374, including considerable numbers of teachers, government functionaries and government employees. Religious services must be suspended during Nazi demonstrations and the cathedral closed; Nazi organizations, in which membership is not voluntary, sometimes prevent their members from assisting at Mass on Sundays; the observance of Corpus Christi with public processions is prohibited in Mannheim, Karlsruhe, Heidelberg and other cities in Baden. Violations of the concordat include the "protective arrest" and imprisonment of fifty priests, reduction of the Catholic press to a minimum, prohibition of the publication of pastorals and encyclicals, suppression of Bible teaching and Easter carols and the destruction of various Catholic associations. The charitable activities of the Church have been hampered systematically since 1933.

Bishop Berning of Osnabruck told a gathering in Lower Saxony: "Nowadays our Church is once more the object of warfare. And I would like to add that it is a warfare in which Christianity's very existence is at stake. To meet these attacks we must increase the number of our secular priests. It no longer avails to keep one's religion locked in the stillness of one's heart like some precious jewel. Faith must be expressed in life. And particularly we must revive the old, courageous acknowledgement of one's faith."

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